FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. X. NO. 52. CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1903. WHOLE NO. 446.

Christmas Day.

The morn broke bright: the thronging people wore
Their best; but in the general face I saw
No touch of veneration or of awe.
Christ's natal day? 'Twas merely one day more
On which the mart agreed to close its door;
A lounging-time by usage and by law
Sanctioned; nor recked they, beyond this, one straw
Of any meaning which for man it bore!

Fated among time's fallen leaves to stray,
We breathe an air that savors of the tomb,
Heavy with dissolution and decay;
Waiting till some new world-emotion rise,
And with the shattering might of the simoom
Sweep clean this dying Past that never dies.

—William Watson

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Society in a Mirror.

II

We who are highly endowed with imaginative and creative faculties must be content to deal with facts, to stick close to realties, to deal with life as it is, and not as it might be. And when we do this, when we look with unclouded eyes and examine with unprejudiced minds we must see that there is much that needs altering. On the one side gaunt poverty and on the other unctious wealth. A society of masters and slaves, of huts and palaces. Crowded jails and almshouses, and hospitals and insane asylums. Prostitution, drunkenness, criminality. The great mass of the people exhausted and degraded by excessive toil, while a favored few do no work at all. And those who do the work and produce all useful things own nothing, while those who do no useful work own everything. Those who build and furnish fine houses do not live in them, those who build and sail ships do not own them. Those who make shoes and weave cloth, who raise corn and ferment wine, who dig coal and iron, who make all beautiful and useful things; do they own them? No! Not only this, but by their increased skill they produce more than enough for their masters to use, and they have to stop work for a while and rest, and when they rest from working they have to rest from eating too. And when they are hungry, they are tempted to take and use some of the things they have produced in such abundance, and when they do this they get into trouble, for this is crime. Some of them are hired by their masters to prevent this, and to preserve "order" among the poor wretches, and others are hired to hunt down those who steal and fight, and they do hunt them as vermin are hunted; they are put into jail when caught, where other hired wretches stand guard over them, and starve and beat and sometimes hang them.

Some of the workers hire themselves as soldiers who are trained to kill by wholesale those of their fellows who object to this arrangement; sometimes they are sent to foreign lands to shoot civilization into yellow-bellies, or whites either, if these refuse to buy of us our surplus products.

Thousands of the workers become tramps, hobos, outcasts, who wander from place to place begging what they eat and wear, without homes and without hope. Those who manage to keep in work do so by becoming cringing slaves, obedient to every order, and by sacrificing every claim to independent manhood.

For woman the conditions are a little worse, and a deeper degradation as an alternative; she either lives the slave of a slave, a life of unrequited toil, or she may attempt to escape this by entering the hell of prostitution. This would appear the lowest depth to which humanity can sink, were it not that we have the conditions which surround child labor in factories, mills, and mines. Here we have the blackest spot in all dark pictures, the very grotesquerie of callousness, cruelty and greed, worthy of a separate hell in Dante's comedy.

If we take as an example any city in the country, what do we find municipal life to be but a succession of boodling and boodle trials. Lexlow committees, committees of one hnndred, of five hundred, contract jobs, franchise grabs, hold-ups in schools, hospitals, and all other institutions the politicians can reach; blackmail and tribute from all sorts of vice—from gambling to prostitution; a private license bureau for speakeasies, scandalous mismanagement of all public institutions; ballot-box stuffing, police intimidation at the polls and in everyday life; the open sale and barter of political positions, immunity granted small criminals of political services; law and order societies; a regular business of buying and selling girls for purposes of prostitution; a large class of crooks and criminals who prey on others; a still larger class of bleareyed, nervous wrecks, "bums"—the waste and refuse of the system; gambling hells, whorehouses, cheap lodging houses, police stations, and jails. In the State we have a complete repetition of these things, and in the federal government the case is perhaps worse, and it is no exaggeration to say that each department is a den of thieves and rotten to the core.

Now we Anarchists have discovered the real cause, the efficient cause of all this, and this cause is government, the coercive power possessed by one man, or a number of men, to compel others to serve them. Back of every injustice is a law, and the workers are exploited legally; every cent is taken from them by a governmental agency. The common rights or opportunities are taken from the whole people by the government and then distributed to a favored few, and these favored ones are protected in these privileges, again by government. I defy anyone to name a single social injustice that is not created or maintained by law. This is the sole function of government: to create and maintain privilege. This is the logical result of the very nature of government; for it originated in violence and robbery, and its method has always and everywhere been violence, and its purpose robbery, and so it will continue to the end of its existence. Every one connected with its administration becomes sooner or later, and it is generally sooner, utterly corrupt, so that it is doubtful if there is an honest man holding political office anywhere. It is a huge game of graft, of grab, and from the cowboy, the rough rider, the cowardly brute at the top down to the most abject slave of a ward heeler they are all out for the stuff.

But this is not the only objection I have to government. It might be shown that all this is largely the abuse of it, and that an honest government might exist. This hope of pure politics is according to the late Senator Ingalls an "irredescent dream" but if it could be realized it would mean intolerable tyranny; for it would mean the enforcement of all the laws on the statue books, and we should have a return to the conditions of puritanism from which we should recoil with a shudder. No! against purity in politics, against honesty in government," angels and ministers of grace defend us!" If the government be rotten enough we may enjoy a little freedom, if it be perfectly honest than we have complete slavery.

Now these are dangerous things to say, and you may be hanged in this country for saying them. It was for just such expressions as these that our comrades came to imprisonment and death sixteen years ago in Chicago, as you may learn, if you read what they said, and of what they did. I listened to them many times before that night on the Haymarket. Up to that time I had not been closely identified with any

movement more radical than freethought, although I had always held views similar to theirs, and I quite naturally took my stand on their side.

It is well each year as we meet to commemorate their death, to take account of what we are doing in the service of the cause for which they died. There is much to encourage us in the outlook. Our increased output of books and pamphlets, our own bright and able periodicals, and our better standing with newspapers and magazines, has increased our opportunity of reaching the general reader to such an extent that most people now know something of our ideas and purpose. The many meetings we have held have aroused the interested attention of many more. The ideas we hold have won the approval of many eminent men of art, science, and of general affairs. The politician is not altogether ignorant of our existence, judging from the number of new laws either made or proposed; he seems to find us a tough morsel to digest. But these are not the only evidence of our activity; and in conclusion I wish to dwell for a moment on a side of phase of our philosophy that is sometimes over-shadowed by our more public work, and that is this: that it is as much a part of Anarchism to refrain from exercising coercive authority toward others as it is to revolt against constituted authority, it is as purely Anarchistic to act independently of government as to act against it. And some very important things are being done in this direction by those who are in sympathy with our ideas. There are many forms or details of Anarchism which may be practised now, without any change in government. We have for instance, religious freedom; no one is now compelled to belong to any church or sect, and in fact I have never knelt in either love or fear to any god or devil. I have no desire for heaven or fear of hell. There was a time, not so long ago either, when this was a very serious matter; there would have been bell, book and candle, and some pretty tall cursing, with other disagreeable things. But now it would cause a laugh among free thinkers. Does not this indicate that freedom may be nearer at hand than we are apt to think, seeing we did not have to wait for the complete destruction of the theological superstition before we who had the will took our religious freedom? And is not something like this taking place now in other important matters? No one need allow others to decide his sexual affairs for him, if he only has courage to decide for himself. Again, in the home life he may practise as much freedom as he wills too; there is no law that can compel him to act the tyrant to his wife or children. And so in many ways we may act out ideas quietly, and to the gain of our cause; for a little action is more powerful than many words.

This does not mean that we are to slacken our other work of direct forthright attack on the stronghold of injustice, in that we take no rest and accept no truce. Not until every vestage of government has been destroyed shall we call a halt; not until the very idea of it has been wiped out and the principle on which it is founded erased from the mind of man, shall we rest satisfied. The bitter contest must go on, and we will not change a single word, we will not recede one step until our cause is won and our martyred comrades utterly justified.

GEO. BROWN.

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Herbert Spencer, Rebel.

A number of years ago, Frederic Harrison, the well known Positivist, in writing of Herbert Spencer, said that he had uttered the last word on religion; there are many people today who believe or think that Spencer has said the last word on nearly everything. Libertarians love him, in that they think he said the last word, tho unconsciously, on the State; the great middle class loves him because it believes that he covered political Socialism with confusion; those who swear by evolution speak his name with awe; and a motely crowd, whose partnership is based on all kinds of Spencerian utterance, on subjects as wide apart as anti-vaccination and the origin of art, unite in crying, "Great is the name of Spencer!"

All philosophers are misunderstood; abstractions not being "human nature's daily food," and Herbert Spencer was so much misunderstood that late in life, tho unwillingly, he ceased to try to set the army of confusion right. Religionists persistently mistook his "infinite and eternal energy" the "unknowable" for their little god; intoxicated idealists confused his discriminating analysis of the nature of phenomena with a crass materialism; the partizans of his early "Social Statics" numbered many who thought that his later position on economics represented a backdown; and a crowd of objectors including many men of science, beginning with Huxley, and ending with Henry George, (one of whose books, "A Perplexed Philosopher," has been aptly called "Perplexed over a Philosopher") and H. M. Hyndman, confused Spencerian teaching, and made the path of the student more or less difficult.

To know the man we must first know something of his life, which was a simple one and without much in the way of event. Herbert Spencer was born in Derby, England, early the Nineteenth Century, and being a delicate child, was given into the hands of his uncle for early training and education instead of being sent to school. After a period of study under these conditions, the philosopher-to-be, entered one of the great English "universities," to finish his "education." He did not stay long, however; he early discovered that whatever a university is, it is certainly not a "seat of learning." Leaving it therefore without taking a degree, Spencer went forth to become a civil engineer, all the while pondering those problems which he was to handle more or less discriminately in "Social Statics" at first, and afterwards in "The Synthetic Philosophy." After some engineering work of real value had been done, Spencer began writing for *The Westminster Review* (I think it was) and thus made the invaluable acquaintance of George Eliot and her talanted friend, George Henry Lewes. Some of his essays in this periodical attracting attention, Spencer published his "Social Statics," a book which, while breathing an enthusiasm for humanity of the most fervent kind, and exhibiting marked logical powers, was deformed by many unscientific conceptions, like that of "natural rights," for example. This is the book which Henry George worked himself into a fury about, and which Spencer early withdrew from circulation in England, and ultimately wholly recast. With his work on "Education" the philosopher firmly took hold of public interest, and when he published "The Principles of Psychology," a part of his philosophy, it may be said that he had gained the ear of the world. "The Synthetic Philosophy," consisting of ten large volumes, is Spencer's master work, and the completion of it a few years before his death rounded an epoch in philosophy. A large number of papers and essays were produced by Spencer meanwhile, many of which have been preserved in his collected works.

Herbert Spencer was a rebel. Beginning with rebellion against the curriculum of university training, he went on to rebel against existing educational ideals; fought religion; opposed what passed current for philosophy and science; and finally brought his antipathies to bear with great force upon the fortress of the State, which last he assailed with a wealth of ammunition and weapons which left both his enemies and friends astonished. Several years before Darwin made public his "Origin of Species," Spencer had published his "Principles of Psychology" in which the evolutionary hypothesis was as a whole clearly stated, and to which Darwin's contribution, the theory of natural selection, was afterward added as a single factor. In Spencer's view philosophy is "knowledge of the highest order of generality," and his ten volumes are an attempt to determine the general laws of life; the common content of the forces expressed in existence. His "Principles of Sociology," and the "Principles of Ethics," he rightly deemed his most important contributions to literature, since these deal with human conduct and human institutions in both an analytical and critical spirit. It is in these two works principally that we find Spencer's great critical onslaught upon governmental authority.

The main factors of organic evolution, according to Spencer, and indeed a large part of the living scientific school, are the struggle for existence between races and between individuals, a struggle which ends in the survival of the fittest, or strongest, and the inheritance of acquired character, and in superorganic evolution, or the evolution of man as a social being, the factors are declared to be the same in the main. Incidental to the process of evolution the State arose, he says, thru "aggression," and he shows in a masterly way how it has been an aggression, principally, ever since; always at its best, even, representing a crystalization of past thought and concept: misleading, exploiting, causing crime, and robbing, and holding man back in a thousand ways. He opposed State education, State charities, made State Socialism immortally ridiculous (this last not only in his "Principles of Sociology" but in a round of pamphlets, such as the "Coming Slavery," "The Sins of Legislators," "The Great Political Superstition," etc.), and opposed government control of the postoffice

and industries in general almost in the spirit of a genuine Anarchist.

Why he did not declare the State *wholly* evil may be answered in a word. Spencer conceived evolution as a very gradual process of transformation; and while he declared that the State began in aggression, he believed that not only had it not grown up in a day, but that it would not pass in a day; that it would become attenuated to a very small factor, a police power, and in consequence become innocuous for evil; while, because it had learned to do something to pay for its keep, it had in respect to this office become transformed, and might be made of some very slight service. His final attitude toward the State was that of one who wished to see its powers progressively diminish to the vanishing point. He even held that land would finally be worked communistically. Anarchists who read Spencer believe him inconsistent in this attitude; but none who know the man's life believe him disingenuous or time-serving. He sacrificed everything at the start to advocate unpopular opinions. In his final conclusions respecting governmental authority, reached long before he had finished his philosophy, he showed unconsciously that something was lacking from the factors supposed by him to be vital in evolution. Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid a Factor of Evolution" would, had its facts or argumentation been known to him in time, perhaps have made him suspicious even of the need for an attenuated State, and had he understood Proudhon, whom he mistook for a Communist, we might have had a Spencer who saw the State stripped of its last robes of well-doing; and pilloried as a monstrous nuisance to be got rid of. His rather narrow view of evolution, in which "the struggle for existence" is made to perform a service to progress quite beyond its powers, is giving place to a more comprehensive conception among the younger evolutionists.

Spencer has been spoken of as the last of the English philosophers; Anarchists may find a wealth of proof in his pages that their contentions have a solid basis of demonstration on the grounds of science; and they may finally look upon him as one who, unknowingly, said the last word on the State. W. F. BARNARD.

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Echoes.

Hunger makes a man a criminal. Hunger breeds thieves. We hunt the thief, we catch him, we thrust him into prison, we load him with indignities, but few know the terrible struggle thru which that man has passed ere hunger unhinged his reason. —*G. R. Maxwell.*

* * *

Servitude which lasts for hundreds of generations, ends by becoming a habit. Inheritance and education teach woman to regard it as the natural state. Consequently she accepts her subordinate position so entirely as a matter of course, that it costs no little trouble to convince her of its degredation and to rouse in her the aspiration to become a member of society, enjoying the same rights as man and in every respect his peer.—*August Bebel.*

It is not generally known that the new anti-Anarchist law not only authorizes the deportation of aliens disbelieving in organized government, but provides long terms of imprisonment for American citizens inviting such aliens to these shores. If I were to invite my friend John Henry Mackay to pay me a social visit, I could be imprisoned for years under this law. But John Henry Mackay, residing in Berlin, can invite me to visit him there without danger of interference on the part of Emperor William, provided always that during my sojourn I do not speak with unseemly levity of the empereror's mustache. Which is the freer country, the United States or Germany?—*Liberty.*

* * *

There is one saint recorded in no church book, yet is more powerful and finds more reverence than all the saints combined in the calendar. He deserves to be sanctified officially, for he affords the church the greatest imaginable favors. He guards its sheep against heretical thoughts and lets them trot slowly in the ancient path. To government also he is a priceless assistant. He prevents revolutions and protects the most dusty statues from being thoroly ventilated.

Thoughtlessly the majority of mankind still kneels before this saint, tho his antipathy toward its growth and blossoming has often been shown. On the day that humanity would determine to tear him out of its heart and burn him at the open market, churches and thrones would begin to stagger. But that day seems to be far away yet. As yet this saint has suffered but little loss of his omnipotence among the great mass of men. As yet many, too many, are dominated in their private and public life almost absolutely by this fatal and ancient sacro saint—the *Loiterer.*—Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung.*

* * *

The Catholic *Glocke* (Bell) writes:

"Religion is a private affair." A nice illustration of the Social Democratic motto that religion is a private affair, calculated to catch the simpletons, was furnished duriug the wrangling among the "comrades" in Germany. The Social Democratic representative, Richard Fischer, was reproached for having permitted his children to sing at a Catholic festival. The youngest of these children is seventeen years of age, yet the father is made responsible for their participation in a musical festival held in honor of the pope. This is the "freedom" of the comrades! Yet this does not hinder that everybody who doubts that religon is a private affair among Social Democrats is being branded as a slanderer of the party.

Here the *Bell* has touched one of the vulnerable spots of Social Democracy. In the lightest meaning of the term religion is of course every one's own affair. Atheists are also religious in their way: they believe in the victory of goodliness in man. But Social Democrats mean something else when they talk about religion. They mean churchdom. To achieve success in electorial districts where the population is in arrears mentally, they have made the deplorable concession that religion is a private affair—that the domain of superstition is sacred and unimpeachable. And the lukewarmness of Social Democrats already recoils upon themselves bitterly. They have neither the strength nor the volition for a radical liberation of the masses. Single enraged leaders may boast ever so much of their animosity against the present State, the fact remains nevertheless that the social Democracy is irresistibly drifting toward shallowness, owing to the first concessions made to their opposing parties.—*Martin Drescher.*

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During the Boer war our administration not only refused to show any sympathy for the struggling republics of South Africa, but deliberately lent aid to England in her godless undertaking, by allowing her to purchase arms and ammunition in this country. Our pious government told us that we had no right to interfere in such matters, especially since the Boer States were under British sovereignty, a fact which has always been strenuously denied by the Boers as well as by fair-minded Englishmen, such as Sir William Vernon Harcourt, John Morley, Frederic Harrison and others. One would suppose that after this wretched and unworthy exhibition of cringing to England, our administration would at least have the decency to be consistent in its future treatment of such cases. But no, this would really be expecting too much. You see, it all depends upon the strength of the fellow you are dealing with. We knew that England was strong enough to hold her own against us, and we refrained from meddling with her affairs. A few years before this, there was a similar, tho less flagrant case in Cuba. Here we had to deal with Spain, a poor, weak little nation, and like the bullies we are, we compelled her to do things which we had not the moral courage even to suggest to England.

Our interference in the dispute between Colombia and Panama is another case in point. We know we have nothing to fear from Colombia and hence our insolence. If Colombia were as strong as England, we would utter a lot of inane platitudes to the effect that it was wrong to interfere in such matters; that our dignity as a nation forbids our taking part in quarrels of that kind, etc., etc. The plain facts are these: If Uncle Sam knows that he is dealing with a weak nation and *if there is something in it for him*, he plays the part of the insolent swashbuckler. But if the other fellow is powerful and the question involved is *a moral one only*, your uncle cringes and kowtows as—well, as only Uncle Sam can.—*The Whim.*

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For St. Louis.

The St. Louis Debating Club gives lectures, followed by discussions, every Saturday, 8 p. m., 1008 N. 17th St. The reading room is open every evening and all day on Sundays. This place also serves as an information bureau for new comers and correspondents. The English language is preferred, altho letters in German, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish, Bohemian, Rumanian, and Jargon can be read and answered.

Address: DEBATING CLUB, 1008 N. 17th St., St. Louis, Mo.

For New York.

The Radial Club holds public meetings every Wednesday evening, 8 p. m., in Etris Hall, 198 W. 23rd St. Lectures and free discussion on political and social questions. Dec. 30, Dr. Kate Maryson will lecture on "Education."

FREE SOCIETY

Formerly THE FIREBRAND.

Published Weekly by.....A. ISAAK.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 407 PARK AVE., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago post office as second-class matter, October 29, 1901.

The publishers as such are not necessarily in agreement with any opinions expressed by the contributors.

ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

CHICAGO, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1903.

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If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.

Notes.

Friends are requested to give us the names of persons who are likely to be interested in FREE SOCIETY, that we may send them sample copies.

* * *

Subscribers of FREE SOCIETY who are in arrears should not let the holiday festivals make them forget to renew their subscriptions. Send in your renewal now; it is the best Christmas present you can make to the paper.

* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

* * *

The delinquent subscribers in New York will do us a great favor by paying their subscriptions to M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way. If the number on your wrapper is less than the whole number as shown in the current issue, you are in arrears. If you have not time to spare to see Comrade Maisel, write him a postal card and he will go and get the money.

—o—

For Chicago.

Under the auspices of the Sociological League, a newly-formed Chicago society, W. F. Barnard will deliver a course of twelve lectures during the winter. A successor of the Philosophical Society on a somewhat different plan, this organization has taken the commodious Jefferson Hall, Fraternity Bldg., 70 Adams St., between State & Dearborn Sts., where the lectures will be given on Sunday evenings at 8 p. m. Admission 10 cents.

Dec 27—"The Folly of Punishment."

—p—

The Linotype Fund.

At the time of this report, Monday, Dec. 21, the linotype fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report	$ 125.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported	$ 143.50
C. Sperling, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
Total,	$ 144.50

Parry and Thrust.

Love makes no laws.

* * *

The people are the Christ.

* * *

Exploitation is crucifixion.

* * *

Why not deport the daylight?

* * *

The churches make a liar of Christ.

* * *

Work is not a curse; drudgery is tho.

* * *

Society is voluntary; the State is forced.

* * *

The business of lawyers is to misuse law.

* * *

Bryan is in Europe having his vanity repaired.

* * *

The Christmas kindness is the spirit of Anarchism.

* * *

Opportunism is compromise disguised and then deified.

* * *

Christmas bells have a far-away sound to the starving.

* * *

The thirst for the ideal is a proof of our innate nobility.

* * *

Chicago wins the next Republican convention or skin game.

* * *

God help the rich! The poor may soften their crusts with tears.

* * *

The government is discovering that John Turner is quite a stayer.

* * *

Men sometimes become machines, but machines never become men.

* * *

A good character can now be purchased in the world's market places.

* * *

Hearst has a new newspaper; another element in favor of corruption.

* * *

The Raines law is a failure; 160,000 New Yorkers patronize Sunday saloons.

* * *

The new government of Panama rests upon treachery and a Rooseveltian bribe.

* * *

There could be no monopoly if there were no scarcity. Monopolists make scarcity.

* * *

Would it not be well if that Christmas feeling of kindness continued with us day after day?

* * *

To justify private ownership of land is to justify one man in the ownership of the whole earth. Will anyone do this?

* * *

The stone will never be rolled away from Christ's present tomb; the churches have piled around it millions of tons of hypocrisy.

General Wood has issued a proclama, tion declaring slavery abolished among the Moros. How comical the general is.

* * *

The price of petroleum has gone up again, and now we may expect that some munificent gift from John D. Stoneyheart will go to Chicago University.

* * *

Liberty has few friends now, but she is building very confidently upon the future; slavery has a million friends, but is trembling for its position daily.

* * *

The death of Herbert Spencer removes from the world one who with the most trenchant of criticisms expressed in the clearest of language true hatred of the State.

* * *

Those who say that there is nothing new under the sun are undoubtedly mistaken; anyone who listens to the apologists of the State will hear new explanations of its failure daily.

* * *

The investigation of the post office scandals is apparently progressing backwards; but who can find fault with the delays of thos ewho have to wait to cover up their own crimes before exposingthose of others?

* * *

The Turner case is forcing the hand of government to the extent that it must either frankly admit that the Constitution is meaningless or open our doors to all ideas whatsoever. Dare it risk the latter?

* * *

The Rev. Minot J. Savage, a prominent Unitarian, declared recently that there is "no such a thing as a standard of ethics," and thereby rid his soul of a lot of superfluous baggage. The social impulses will take care of conduct if let alone.

* * *

Labor unions are taking a variety of attitudes in respect to the Turner case, those of two eastern cities being upon opposite sides of the matter. Those who are bent on *forcing* government to show its rottenness as it sends Turner back, are likely to accomplish something.

* * *

Many who think they know a lot about liberty are apprehensive about progress under Anarchistic conditions; without difficulties there would be no progress, they say. True. And without disease there would be no recoveries from illness. Progress is but a means to an end; ends are infinite in number.

* * *

Three presidents of the United States have been assassinated, all by native born Americans. Point first! The first assassin was a Democrat, the second was a Republican. Point two! Why are not Democrats and Republicans hated and driven from the country? Point three! Because there are so many of them. Point four!

AMERICUS.

—o—

For Cleveland.

"Free Society" meets every Sunday 2:30 p. m., in Foresters' Hall, 223 Champlain St. All friends of liberty are cordially linvted.

By the Wayside.

Last week the "printer's devil" signed my scribblings with the name of "Americus," who, I understand, intends to sue me for having ruined his literary reputation.

* * *

The first real Christmas, the day of deliverance, will be celebrated after monopoly and statute books have passed into oblivion, and man shall be free from poverty and care,—the ideal of the Anarchists, and for which they now suffer persecution and imprisonment.

* * *

The second edition of the "Life of Albert R. Parsons" has made its appearance, and Comrade Lucy E. Parsons is to be congratulated upon the compilation of the material relating to the murdered comrades and the labor troubles of their time. Shortly a more detailed review will be given the book, which should be on the shelves of every library in the land.

* * *

"Peace on earth, and good will toward men," are being proclaimed from all the pulpits in the country. What hypocrisy! Strife between man and man is rampant: courts issue one injunction after another for the purpose of suppressing the demands of the toilers; all over the country wages are wantonly reduced in order to fill the coffers of those who fatten upon the sweat and blood of labor; everywhere the "benevolent" captains of industry shamelessly confess their intent to crush the organizations of the wealth-producers—and in the face of all this the hired sky-pilots have the audacity to speak of "peace and good will that Christ has bestowed upon the world!"

* * *

The New Bedford *Evening Standard* criticizes the arrest of John Turner and the anti-Anarchist law in a lengthy editorial, and, among other things, makes the following admission:

> If those persous who say they disbelieve in all organized government cannot be met in any other way than by their suppression the doctrine of organized government is a great deal weaker than must of us believe it to be.

Tho it may be inconsistent for Anarchists to have anti-Anarchist laws tested in the Supreme Court, the daily press has been induced to reflect upon the validity of government and its methods of force in maintaining itself, which will not fail to serve as an eye-opener to a great many intelligent people. Whatever the outcome of Turner's case may be, Anarchism has been brought before the minds of the country, and thus a great deal of propaganda has been accomplished.

* * *

> Labor unionism has come to mean the denial by force and other modes of crime of the right to peace, liberty and the opportunity to earn their daily bread to all American workers who choose not to wear the badge of servitude to the strike tyrants.—Chicago *Chronicle*.

Why so indignant, Mr. Editor? Are you not one of the greatest worshippers of brute force when the toilers show signs of resistance? Why should unionism not employ the same methods which capitalism so effectively applies when labor attempts to gain a little bigger share of its product? What else but force and violence have kept the toilers in submission for centuries? "No government would attempt to carry on its work by moral suasion," said Prof. Scott two weeks ago in speaking in favor of corporal punishment in the public schools. Or was it perhaps "moral suasion" which subjected the Cubans and Filipinos to merciless exploitation? And what about Colorado? "Force begets force," and those "who sow the wind will reap the whirlwind." But tyrants have always championed "liberty" when their power to plunder their subjects was in danger.

* * *

A burglar who was considerate enough to return to his victim valuables he could not use, assuring the owner that the money taken would not be spent in dissipation, writes to the chief of police, of Madison, Wis., saying, among other things:

> While the writer is a crook thru circumstances, yet there is a good side to his nature. You may wonder why men will resort to such methods. I can only say: Look at your daily papers and note the vast amount of crookedness among men who have every reason in the world to live right and honorably. I refer to political crooks and grafters in public office. They have homes, education, influence, the trust of the people, etc. Don't you think they set a very poor example for the weaker? They do, and a very poor one. But, then, you people set a much worse one by not punishing them as they deserve. It is only the poor, ignorant, misguided man that the law falls upon. The prisons are full of such characters, who, in many cases, stole to cover their nakedness. In such case, "To prison with him." Well, it seems to be the way of the world.
>
> In conclusion, I will say, Chief, that I have no honor for the way the present laws are exercised; consequently have no respect for the same.

Altho this "crook" does not yet seem to be aware of the fact that he is but the product of law and government, he has struck the nail on the head as regards government honesty, for none of the dailies felt tempted to comment on the indictment.

* * *

"Law and order" is manifesting itself beautifully in Colorado and Utah, and some of the simpletons publishing periodicals, who still hug the delusion that there is such a thing as "good government," are afraid that the extreme invectives against the present order of things, which appear in Anarchist and Socialist papers, may prove to be true if the authorities do not stop acting in "a most unlawful and disorderly manner." It is indeed too bad that the government in those States has thrown off its hypocritical mask! The governor of Utah even threatens to "arm all citizens with rifles" if the strike agitation is not stopped. Even the attorneys of the miners are locked up in order to break the strike. In fact, the tyranny now perpetrated in these two States is unparalled in the history of labor and capital, excepting perhaps in Russia, and yet the American sovereigns continue to slumber the sleep of the righteous. Great indignation was expressed at the recent protest meeting against the anti-Anarchist law by some dignitaries, yet the deportation of John Turner sinks into insignificance when compared with the outrages perpetrated by the soldiery and civil authorities against the struggling miners. Will the Free Speech League, established especially to uphold free speech in this country, raise its voice against the suppression of free speech and press in the mining regions? And if not, why not?

INTERLOPER.

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Environmens.

C. L. James has many good ideas, but he either does not always reason or does not express his reason. The following, for instance, is a curiosity of ill logic:

> —the environment doctrine, as my critic applies it, is certainly not true. Remorseless statistics show more crime of pretty much every sort in the country than in the cities; therefore providing surroundings of whatever kind for the children of the cities would not extinguish crime.

I do not myself accept the doctrine that environment is the main factor of development, but the above assumes that city and country surrounding are the only ones, and that one of them is ideal; that the same class of people are in the country and in the cities, and that they have always had the same surroundings; that the "crimes" of the cities and the country are the same, and equally detected (by the way, I would like to see those statistics). Finally, the word "children" in the conclusion, which is not in the premise, puts the argument off the track.

There are other fallacies, such as that involved in the words "pretty much," but I shall not pursue this further. Doubtless much of the fault lies in mere carelessness or haste of composition, but the discusssions are not, I think, generally interesting, and do not usually tend to instruction and accurate thinking.

BOLTON HALL.

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LETTER-BOX.

G. McL., London, England.—Three shillings received, for which the paper will be mailed regulariy for six months.

S. T. Byington.—We agree with most of what you say in *Liberty* regarding Jay Fox's article on the linotype proposition. But why make the philosophy of Anarchist Communism responsible for the misconceptions of one of its adherents? As one of the comrades here put it: "Jay Fox is proposing State Socialistic methods in Anarchistic phraseology." And the worst is still to come.

A. B. Philadelphia.—The clipping and your comment will appear next week; but to ask us, when we have no time to spare, to induce other papers to publish the same, is a little "too much," to say the least. Why not attend to the matter yourself.

B. C. City.—You may have "a right" to punish (whip) your children, the same "right" that the government has to flog you if it sees fit to do so, i. e., it has the power. But both adults and children are demoralized by being punished.

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For New York.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of *Freiheit*, the indefatigable champion of freedom, will be celebrated by a grand concert and ball on Jan. 1, 1904, in Bronx Casino, 2994–2998 Third Ave. An excellent program has been arranged, which will begin at 3 p. m. At 8 o'clock the ball begins, and lasts until 3.

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For Chicago.

Liberty Group will entertain the comrades and friends at a social on the evening of Dec. 31th, New Years Eve. The club room at 427 Park Ave., will be the scene of the affair, and refreshments will be served.

The prize contest for the graphophone and other things takes place also on this night.

"Endless Toil."

"Lying on his parlor floor at 510 West Twelfth street, covered with a black mantle and surrounded with lighted candles and grief-stricken relatives, after the manner of the Jews, lay last night the body of Isaac Reingold, the tailor-poet of the Chicago ghetto.

"Reingold was only 31 years old and a tailor by trade, but was so gifted with poetic feeling that his patriotic and lyric poems have made him famous all over this country, if not in Europe. Tuesday evening he attended the Star theater and while there wrote a song—which was his last—with the prophetic title, "I Have No More Time." At two o'clock the next morning his wife awoke and found him dying, as his physician says, of dilatation of the heart.

"Reingold, whose real name was Isaac Toomin, was born in the province of Zhitomir, Russia, and fled from his native country when he was fifteen years old in consequence of the persecutions waged against his race. He came to America the next year, spent one year in Baltimore, another in New York and then came to Chicago, where he lived until his death. He married a Milwaukee woman, who, with five childrens survive him.

"His poems were all composed as he sat at his sewing machine, and related to the sufferings of his race in Russia, the joy they experienced in finding an asylumn in America, their hardships in the Chicago sweatshop, their longing for home and peace and native land, and their passionate desire for freedom. They are all in the Yiddish language, and the following is the only translation:

The roaring of the wheels has filled my ears,
The clashing and the clamor shut me in,
Myself, my soul, in chaos disappears,
I cannot think or feel amid the din
Toiling and toiling and toiling—endless toil.
For whom? For what? Why should the work be done?
I do not ask or know. I only toil.
I work until the day and night are gone.

The clock above me ticks away the day.
Its hands are spinning, spinning, like the wheel.
It cannot sleep or for a moment stay.
It is a thing like me, and does not feel,
It throbs as tho my heart were beating there.
Heart? My heart, I know not what it means.
The clock ticks, and below I strive and stare,
And so we close the hours. We are machines.

Noon calls a truce, an ending to the sound.
As if a battle had one moment stayed,
A bloody field! The dead lie all around.
Their wounds cry out until I grow afraid.
It comes—the signal. See, the dead men rise.
They fight again. Amid the roar they fight.
Blindly and knowing not for whom or why
They fight, they fall, they sink into the night.

—*Chicago Chronicle.*

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From Many Lands.

It has been established that only about fifteen per cent of the population in New York attend the different churches.

The General Strike is the name of a new periodical published at 58, Warren St., Tottenham Court Rd., London W., England. Another new radical journal, *The Voice of Labor*, is published at 126, Trongate, Glasgow, Scotland.

The Commercial Salesmens Union, which John Turner, had he not been arrested, would have revolutionized, has made the chief boots and night-watchmen of capitalism, Teddy Roosevelt, an honorable member. This looks like an anti-Turner demonstration. Really, labor fakirs who incur the like criticism deserve to be carved, not in stone, but with wood.—*Freiheit.*

The General Strike publishes a detailed report of the miner's strike at Bilboa, Spain, where the effectiveness of a general strike was clearly demonstrated. In four days the strikers won a complete victory. The bakers refused to work, and soon the large city was without bread; if a loaf was baked, they took care that it was eaten by the wives and children of the strikers. The gas workers also laid down their tools, and the town was plunged in darkness; railways and other means of transport came to a standstill, so that even the troops were threatened with starvation, which prompted General Zappino to find the grievances of the strikers just and inducing the employers to give in, on the threat to withdraw the troops.

A young lawyer, one Heine, of Freiburg, Switzerland, has been sent to prison for refusing to serve in the army. "The conduct of Comrade Heine," says the Social Democratic organ, *Gruetlianer*, "is, of course, to be condemned. Such means create Anarchy and settle nothing. On the contrary, they are detrimental to our just protests against militarism. Comrade Heine should have done service; for, with his action and the motives that prompted him to refuse military service, he has not proven anything against militarism; on the contrary, he has worked against the interests of anti-militarism and done injury to himself. It seems to us Comrade Heinc has acted very naively in this affair." Such comment in a Socialist paper speaks for itself.

In Argentine, South America, the Anarchists have defeated the government in its attempt to suppress all radical agitation. About a year ago, after a big strike, all known Anarchists were banished from the country and the different Anarchist periodicals suppressed. But almost without any delay the papers were published in Montevides (Uruguay) and smuggled into Argentine. In Italy and Spain the Anarchists unfolded a vigorous propaganda against the emigration to the Argentine republic, which made itself soon felt in a country where the capitalists are eagerly looking for European immigrants,—and the anti-Anarchist law is now a dead letter. The Anarchist papers are again published without being molested, and one of them announces that, owing to the steadily growing demand, it has been enabled to reduce its price from five to two centavos. The Anarchist groups, which now grow like mushrooms, have also established their own school, in Buenos Aires, the attendance of which is increasing daily.

The textil workers of Krimmitschau, Germany, have been locked out for twenty-six weeks for demanding a twelve hour work day. "All were thrown on the street," writes one of the victims, "organized and unorganized, men and woman, radicals and conservatives. A sharp line has been drawn between capital and labor. Even the most stupid had their eyes opened. Men who were formerly absolutely indifferent are now fighters and agitators. The textil magnates had decided the lockout was to last eight weeks unless the workers came back crawling and begging for work. But none of them want to work. Since then they have moved hell and heaven to employ scabs; military societies, ministers, teachers, officials—all are trying to enlist scabs, but without any success. In spite of want and misery the toilers stand firm, altho even the wives of the bosses are running from house to house making all kinds of promises, but without avail. Many of the workers are penniless, but none betrays his fellows. Not only have we to fight the employers, but also the military, and the city resembles a war camp; and the end is not in sight yet. Christmas will be a sad day here. The bosses hope now that cold and hunger will bring us to time, but if the workers in Germany stand by us we shall win the battle."

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Consistency Again.

If my critic, Bertha Leib, will read the article "Are We Consistent?" once more, she will find that I did not even touch the theory of non-resistance. On the contrary, I criticised those comrades who are engaged in the legal proceedings against the anti-Anarchist law for their inactivity in fostering their ideal; for, appealing to courts is certainly not resisting government. Neither has she any conception of Tolstoyan teachings. She asserts that they signify resignation, and therefore I appreciate her indignation. What will be accomplished if the Supreme Court declares the law in question unconstitutional or not applicable to such "harmless" men as Turner? Nothing at all; for, even the speakers at the New York protest meeting justified the law when applied to "revolutionary" Anarchists, saying that society was justified in protecting itself against them. In short, the speakers took special care to inform the audience that they did not favor Anarchism; consequently no propaganda was being made. Those who speak against government and are capable of swaying public sentiment will suffer imprisonment as before.

Again, should Turner be permitted to stay in the United States as a "harmless" Anarchist the governmentalists will boast of their achievements, and it will require a great deal of talking and writing on our side to prove that in reality nothing has been accomplished by the court proceedings, excepting that the poor workers got rid of a few hard-earned pennies to defray the expenses of the farce, which, according to my critic, signifies "a vigorous and animated activity," as compared with the philosophy of Tolstoy, who says that his highest ambition is to be hanged for an ideal. And indeed the records of so-called non-resistents can very well compare with those of the revolutionary type. In Russia thousands of peasants resisted military service, and those who have so far defied conscription in other countries were also adherents of Tolstoy, while the "revolutionary" Anarchists are complying with the military laws.

I can understand the cry of those who in the name of "good government" fight the law. They realize that the suppression of free speech will make "dangerous" Anarchists, as De Witt Warner pointed out in Cooper Union. To brazenly violate the Constitution by suppressing free speech, the "legacy bequeathed to us by our forefathers," would awaken some law-abiding citizens to the fact that the Constitution is a farce, which must be avoided.

My critic admits that, tho there is no free speech in Russia, we have there one of the most intense movements, yet she thinks it a folly to assume that the entire absense of free speech is preferable to a partial presence of it. The fact is, however, that the people are most easily deluded by granting them any kind of freedom on paper. Why is the average worker of this country deaf to our ideal? Because he has been taught that he lives in a "country of the free," that he can become the president of the land, and other absurdities. But in reality there is but little more freedom here than in Russia. There as well as here you have free speech as long as you do not arouse public sentiment against government.

Yes, let us resist all encroachments of government until we have gained complete freedom, but not by pleading with our enemies for justice. Assert your right of free speech on every occasion, and refuse to comply with obnoxious laws, and you will soon see our propaganda invigorated.

B. SACHATOFF.

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The Plutocratic View.

In No. 51 of FREE SOCIETY appears a scholarly article signed by John Fay, the excellence of which is marred by the failure of the writer to understand that a subject may be viewed and reviewed from more than one point of view. "This is all I can see, therefore this is all there is," seems to be a conclusion reached by so many who aim to be scholarly without the trouble of being studious and analytical. Mr. Fay thinks it an evidence of cowardice in me to withhold a candid acknowledgment of my identity. He is right. But he is not wholly right, for there be other reasons. I fear that I would lose caste among our own class if it were known that I stooped to argue with the lower class people. This position may be called cowardly. Hence John Fay is right. Yet there is a phase of my position that overshadow sits pusillanimity. It is altruistic. Were I to disclose my identity the publishers of FREE SOCIETY might decline my offerings, as coming from one who has the reputatien of being "hard" in his treatment of his inferiors. In which event the readers of this paper would be deprived of much wholesome information.

In an ideal human association—free society—class distinctions would tend to be less discernible—and in time would perhaps disappear. But John Fay and I live in the present. In such a social order as now prevails there is bound to be a beneficiary class. John Fay esteems it a fault in me that I should prefer adorning the aristocracy. Merely because I produce nothing he assumes that I confer no benefits on society. That is a superficial point of view. The producing class insists on sharing its earnings with the upper class. If John Fay were to stop me on the highway and insist on my accepting from him a gift of a dollar, I would not only decline to accept his gift, but would feel that an insult had been offered my self-respect. I would regard his approaches as outrageous, and my indignation might assume a violent aspect, in inverse ratio to John's physical equipment. But when a whole class—the working class—insists that the upper—or employing—class is entitled to the larger share of the product, it becomes then an obligation, amounting to a duty, to relieve them. Let it never be said of me that I would stifle the generous impulses of a vast majority of my fellow men. This altruistic propensity refuses to work at retail. It operates *en masse*.

So long as the laboring class regard me *entitled* to my land title, and are willing to pay me rent, it is my duty to society to encourage them in their law-abidingness. And so, too, when they insist that I am entitled to interest on the medium of exchange.

I got my land title from the State by due process of law. From the same source comes my power to collect interest. These are my titles of aristocracy. You cannot quarrel with my titles without criticizing the law. Therefore I want my humble fellow citizens to continue always in their respect for the law. It is the safeguard of the privileges enjoyed by my class.

By being respectful to the law which grants me my titles, the lower classes are most blessed, for they are thus enabled to give to us freely without insulting our punctilious self-respect; and it is more blessed to give than to receive.

PLUTOCRAT.

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The Case of Permeggiani.

"The readers of *Neues Leben* (New Life) will certainly recollect the notice which not so long ago appeared in the dailies," writes Siegfried Nacht, the young artist, who, according to the omniscient police in Washington, D. C., is in Chicago, but who in reality travels in southern Europe, "that an Italian Anarchist had been arrested in Paris in the house of a female friend, where antiquities and works of art of many millions value had been discovered. The penny-a-liners of all countries immediately availed themselves of this 'interesting case' for sensational purposes.

"Every newspaper scribbler discovered biographical sketches of his own. Some said he had beeen the accomplice of Ravachol, others that he was one of the defendants in the 'trial of thirty Anarchists,' and the Social Democratic papers of Austria could not let the opportunity pass without reporting that in 1885 he had intended to assassinate—aided by the police—the Social Democratic representative, Bissolati. But when it turned out that Permeggiani was only twenty-three years of age, consequently having been an accomplice of Ravachol when only thirteen years old, and attempted to murder a Social Democrat at the age of five, the press failed to report the actual facts. Instead it gave the matter a new turn in order to rub it into the Anarchists anyhow. The owner of the valuable art-curiosities was arrested in order to get an impeachment against her. The law, of course, requires that an individual only be arrested after an indictment, but as she was only the sweetheart of an Anarchist, the officials did not deem it necessary to observe the law. At first she was accused of robbery, i. e., the works of art were said to have been stolen by Permeggiani and his accomplices from museums and palaces of the world.

"Immediately the press announced that an Anarchist band of international swindlers and thieves had been discovered. But the owner of the house was in a position to prove the origin of her treasures, for she was the widow of the Spanish artist Escoussura; and she offered 100,000 francs bail for her release. Yet all this was of no avail—she remained in prison. After all the inquiries had been made, and her statements proved to be correct, another indictment was made, to the effect that the works of art were mere imitations, consequently the visitors of her museum and eventual purchasers were liable to be cheated!

"After a careful investigations of experts, who had been appointed by the court, it turned out that all the *tiaras* were genuine, which is especially remarkable when we are reminded that the *Tiara de Saitafernes*, fabricated by Ruchomovsky, had been purchased for the Louvre as genuine. Yes, among the paintings owned by Mme. Escoussura was found a genuine painting of the Greek painter Domenico Theotocopuli, who in the middle of the sixteenth century lived in Spain and is known to posterity under the name 'Grechs' (Greek). It was now proven that this painting was the original, while its imitation decorates the Louvre as a genuine picture!

"Mme. Escoussura was then released and Permeggiani was sentenced to five months imprisonment for living in France illegally, as he had been extradited previously to this arrest.

"But as the police would not let its victim go so easily, the relatives of Mme. Escoussura's husband have been egged on to inaugurate legacy-hunting proceedings against the widow, and this many years after the man's death. All means are good enough for the police in combating the Anarchists."

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New York, Attention!

The new group of New York, the Radical Club, has arranged a theater performance for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY, which will take place on Thursday, Feb. 4, 1904, 8 p. m., in Thalia theater, 46 Bowery. The well known and attractive play, the Jewish Sappho, will be performed by Mrs. Calsh and the other best actors of the house. Comrade Emma Goldman will speak between the acts on "The English Propaganda."

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